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4. THE INVOLUNTARY PATH TO SECLUSION (1692–1730)

At the end of the 1680s, disputes broke out in the college. No more detailed information can be provided because the sources from this period have been only partially preserved at best. We only have more detailed information about the preceding period from the rebuke the Irish Franciscans received from the general of the order in 1683. They had allegedly taken youngsters of Czech nationality into the novitiate, to the detriment of the Bohemian province. Bernard Sannig even had the general's decree confirmed by the Emperor. In 1685, however, Pope Innocent XI ratified a different decree by the general of the order from the previous year, in which Pietro Marini Sormani had confirmed the right of the guardian of the Prague college to accept lay brothers from the Bohemian province and adjacent regions, against which the representatives of the Bohemian province had made no objections.[1]

PROLONGED TENSION IN THE COLLEGE

Obviously, the instability also showed itself in disagreements between teachers at the seminary, as a result of which the quality of teaching suffered: in this respect, the rebuke from the Archbishop of Prague, Jan Bedřich of Valdštejn, was ineffective. It is possible that, among other things, the teachers gave precedence to alms gathering rather than to teaching, although their teaching responsibilities were also honoured. In any case, in the later period this abuse increased. The archbishop realised that if the dissatisfied members of other orders, who were in the majority at the seminary, decided to boycott teaching in some way, it would mean, at the very least, lengthy and unpleasant negotiations. The Cistercians and Premonstratensians had definite reasons for resentment: their chances of breaking the monopoly of the Franciscan Order in the teaching of theology were minimal and the Department of Canon Law could only have been small consolation to them. It had been established in the autumn of 1674 at the instigation of the Strahov abbott, Hieronymus Hirnhaim, and the Cistercians and Premonstratensians

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lectured there alternately. In the meantime, their grievances fell on deaf ears. In 1673, the Premonstratensians were passed over for the right to fill the position of supply teacher at the Department of Theology. In December 1675, some students (understandably through their superiors) complained of the unclear, muddled and practically useless exposition of the Franciscan teachers. It ended with the Franciscans being reprimanded and threatened with expulsion from the seminary (Fig. 22).[2]

In the second half of the 1680s, Bonaventure Burke taught theology at the seminary. According to the testimony of Adolf Vratislav, Count of Šternberk, he was a highly educated and honourable priest, who later attained a distinguished position in the order (he was a lector in theology at St. Isidore's College in Rome and was appointed *lector jubilatus* and *scriptor ordinis*).[3] One of his colleagues, Peter Marian Murry, first lectured in speculative theology in Bologna, then later taught in Prague and, for two years, in the Cistercian monastery in Waldsassen, eventually becoming guardian of the Prague college. Philosophy was taught by Anthony Murphy (the Elder), John Scot and Bonaventure O'Flynn.[4] A printed list from 1697 includes further names: Francis O'Neill, guardian in Prague and commissary visitator to the Louvain college (died in Prague 31 January 1696); Peter Farrell, teacher of philosophy; Francis MacKenna, whose work at the archiepiscopal seminary ended with his death in October 1684; Francis Philip Burke,[5] teacher of philosophy; Michael Deane, later guardian in Louvain (died 4 April 1697); Bernardine Gavan, general visitator of the Irish province, who was also guardian in Louvain around 1697; and Louis O'Neill, who taught first at the Louvain college and then taught theology for two years at the archiepiscopal seminary.[6]

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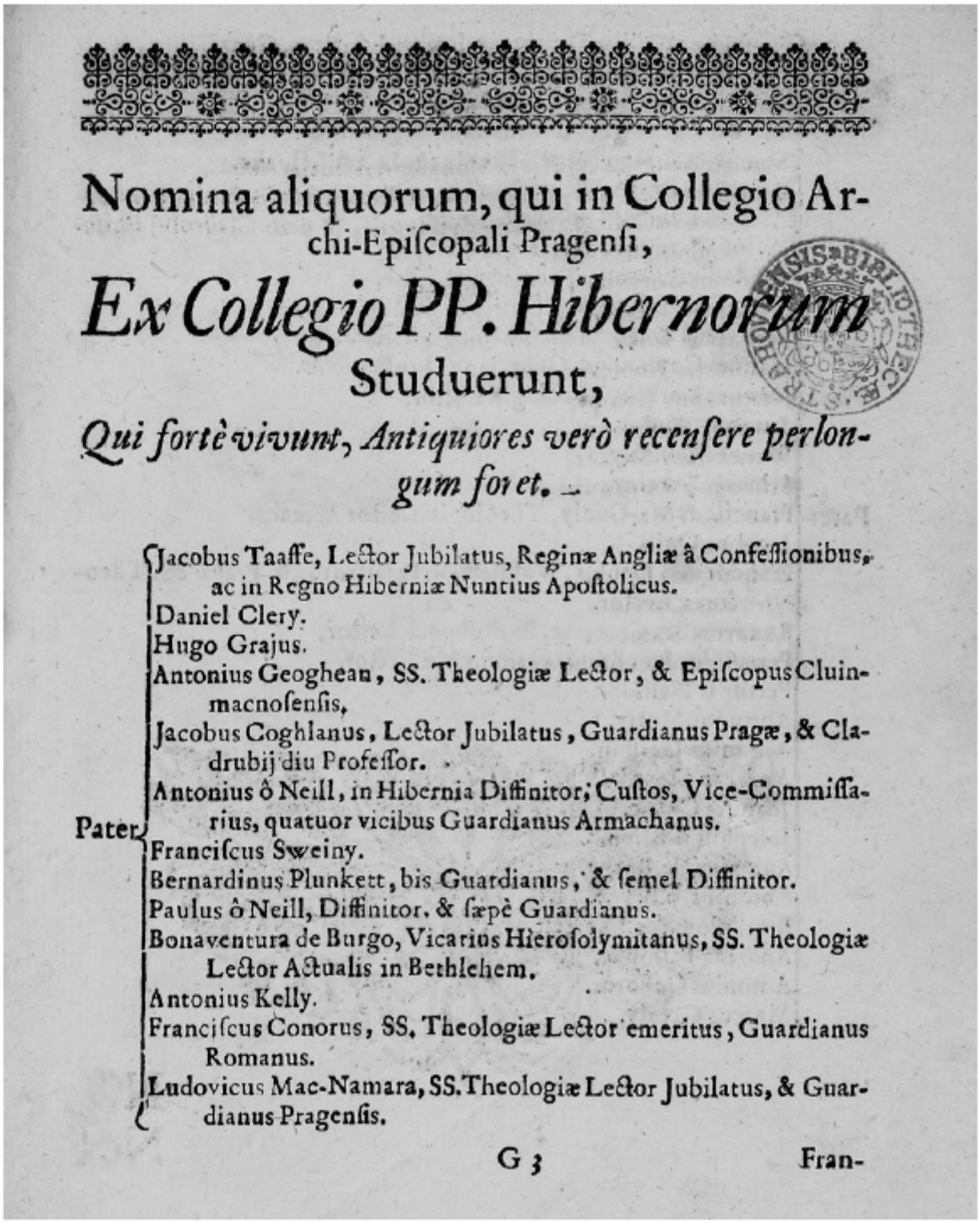

Nomina aliquorum, qui in Collegio Archi-Episcopali Pragensi,

Ex Collegio PP. Hibernorum

Studuerunt,

Qui fortè vivunt, Antiquiores verò recensere perlongum foret.

Pater
- Jacobus Taaffe, Lector Jubilatus, Reginæ Angliæ à Confessionibus, ac in Regno Hiberniæ Nuntius Apostolicus.
- Daniel Clery.
- Hugo Grajus.
- Antonius Geoghean, SS. Theologiæ Lector, & Episcopus Cluinmacnosensis.
- Jacobus Coghlanus, Lector Jubilatus, Guardianus Pragæ, & Cladrubij diu Professor.
- Antonius ô Neill, in Hibernia Diffinitor; Custos, Vice-Commissarius, quatuor vicibus Guardianus Armachanus.
- Franciscus Sweiny.
- Bernardinus Plunkett, bis Guardianus, & semel Diffinitor.
- Paulus ô Neill, Diffinitor. & sæpè Guardianus.
- Bonaventura de Burgo, Vicarius Hierosolymitanus, SS. Theologiæ Lector Actualis in Bethlehem.
- Antonius Kelly.
- Franciscus Conorus, SS. Theologiæ Lector emeritus, Guardianus Romanus.
- Ludovicus Mac-Namara, SS. Theologiæ Lector Jubilatus, & Guardianus Pragensis.

G 3 Fran-

Fig. 22 The first page of the Catalogue of Irish professors in the archiepiscopal seminary in Prague. Prague, 1697 (SK).

The visitation of the college in 1670 promised improvement. The guardian at the time was Francis Burke and the visitator the above-mentioned Louis O'Neill. The college, led by the guardian, had reservations about the visitator, but, as had happened in previous cases, the friars were divided into supporters and opponents of one side or the other. Personal relations between the guardian and O'Neill were extremely tense; in correspondence with the archbishop dated August 1690, each made accusations against the other. The protest against O'Neill occupying

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this position, signed by twenty-seven friars and the guardian on 11 August 1690, presented the archbishop with these objections: O'Neill is biased against Burke, so, by appointing him, the guardian's rights are impaired and he is, in effect, removed from office. The visitator should himself be subjected to a visitation.[7] O'Neill, however, had plenipotentiary powers from Rome and, moreover, Valdštejn, like his predecessors, may have had very little desire to be judge and jury between antagonistic factions in the college. To ensure that the Franciscans submitted and that the visitation was entirely impartial, a second visitator was appointed, Christian Pfaltz of Ostritz, canon and archdeacon of the Cathedral of St. Vitus.[8]

Christian Pfaltz, a man of strict morality, was appalled at relations within the college. In his reports of 20 and 24 August, he wrote emotionally: *"Vulgo dicitur die Christen stehen in der Welt und in den Christen sey auch Welt, id verificatur in conventu hybernorum!"*[9] He found that the visitation was absolutely necessary. There was neither love nor concord in the college; on the contrary, disobedience predominated. Violence by one brother against another went unpunished, on the contrary, it was praised. Discipline had entirely lapsed, there was an active night life, choral worship was neglected and alms were squandered. It was clear that, if the college was not to become a scandalous example (if it was not already) of how monastic life could also be, reform had to be implemented. Pfaltz suggested the following solutions: disturbers of the peace and of peaceful coexistence should be transferred; if this dismal state of affairs is caused by the great distance from their superiors, let them be made subordinate to the Bohemian provincial; alms gathering should be done only in pairs; visitations must be carried out more often; and entry to those parts of the college intended only for the use of the friars must be strictly forbidden to lay persons.[10] It was not possible, however, to implement reform overnight, and, in the meantime, the friars were still able to completely ruin their reputation at the archiepiscopal seminary.

In a short report dated 13 March 1691, the chronicler of Norbertinum described the reason for the departure of the Irish Franciscans from the seminary: *"In place of Father Bonaventure de Burgo a Hibernian, Professor of Theology at the archiepiscopal seminary, Father Louis O' Nelly, also a Hibernian and currently commissary of the Hibernians, was appointed at the same department, in a certain contention and dispute which broke out at that time between the above-mentioned Father Bonaventure and Father Marian, the second Professor of Theology, and as a result of which the Hibernian Fathers were later withdrawn from the Department of Theology."*[11] The heart of the matter is made clear in a letter from Juan Pérez López, general of the

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Franciscans, to the Archbishop of Prague, dated by Neumann to 1692. López wrote that when, due to various excesses, one of the priests of the college was designated visitator, some of the lectors, including Father Burke, were dismissed. The unnamed visitator was O'Neill, which can be deduced from the protests which his nomination provoked, and also from the dismissal of Bonaventure Burke, the first name on the signed "anti-O'Neill" letter. Other victims may well have been his colleagues and fellow signatories, Anthony Murphy and Bonaventure O'Flynn. Father Scot (the above-mentioned John Scot, whose subsequent peripatetic life accurately corresponds with the very short curriculum vitae given in the 1697 register), who was living at the time in St. Isidore's College in Rome, took such pity on the talents of Father Bonaventure that he made sure that Burke came to Rome and took his place in the college while he went to Prague. He travelled there with Father Warde, who had accompanied Father Burke on his journey to Rome, with the necessary documents from Juan Pérez López, the general of the order. When they arrived in Prague, the guardian kept their documents to himself, however, and the lectors, Fathers Peter Marian Murry and Louis MacNamara remained in post. The two lectors insisted that Scot's position was already filled by Father Bernard Lorcan, who had been appointed the previous year despite the fact that the general had no intention of allowing this. That is to say, Murry and MacNamara had the audacity, firstly, to disobey binding patents from both the general and the archbishop, secondly, to appoint a student (Father Lorcan) as lector in theology against all the regulations and practice of the order, thirdly, to act thus against a right which appertained to the general of the order alone, and fourthly, to appropriate the supreme power of the general to appoint and remove from office. Scot accordingly appealed to the archbishop to correct these excesses and punish the guilty parties.[12]

It is unlikely that the superiors of the order and the Irish province imagined that the archbishop would punish the wrongdoers by depriving the Irish Franciscans of all teaching posts. Later, the college did not lack advocates, but the archbishop was indisputably tired of Irish squabbles and indifferent discipline at the college, which was bound, sooner or later through the teachers, to reflect badly on the seminary. At the same time, he was aware of the ambitions of the orders whose members studied at the seminary, especially the Cistercians and Premonstratensians, who were, to say the least, decidedly exasperated by the disharmony of the Irish Franciscans.[13]

There were, nevertheless, attempts at reform. At the end of January 1692, López, the general of the order, sent the Irish Franciscans in Prague a list of sixty-two articles intended to improve discipline in the college. Besides these, the following regulations were to be introduced;

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everyone, apart from the gatekeeper, the cook, those who were sick and those who were actually performing a duty in the college, must, under threat of severe punishment, attend the chapter and the choir, every priest must celebrate Mass daily, and the clerics and lay brothers take communion. Everyone must have the same food and eat in the refectory, with the exception of the sick, convalescents and aged friars. Schooling which is also attended by the laity must not be held in the refectory but in a special room, study must be solely before meals, and students must not wander about the town but walk to and from the seminary together. We must suppose that daily liturgical responsibilities were generally considered to be a non-compulsory recommendation, to talk of meals being communal is pointless, apart from the fact that the refectory fulfilled the function of a communal area and friars were prone to succumb to the temptation to have a look around the town as a distraction (this was not, of course, only a problem of Irish youth). The sixty-two articles covered ecclesiastical music, studies (Articles 4–26 were on the organisation and timetabling of study, disputations and examinations and the preparation of lectures) and the novice master and discipline. The final section was patently aimed at shortcomings revealed during the visitation. At the same time, it is clear from the regulation on studies that the 1660 ruling by the general of the order was no longer valid in practice, and lectures on philosophy and theology were being held in the college itself and other students were attending these lectures. The degeneration of the college is shown by the list of what was forbidden: sitting about and drinking in the cells at night; the access of lay persons to the college (benefactors and persons of high position were exempt from this); returning after hours; drinking with laymen in the town; the dishonest drawing of travel money for the journey to Ireland (this was in such disorder that a reliable member of the college had to guarantee that those who requested travel money would actually go to Ireland); and the retention of sums of money. On the other hand, it was directed that the sick be properly treated (Bonaventure O' Flynn, suffering from the expectoration of blood [haemoptysis], had to accept the hospitality of the Benedictines).[14]

It begs the question of how this situation arose: the great distance from the centres and superiors of the order, the relative isolation in the Bohemian environment, dwindling missionary fervour and thus the decline of the main role of the college, and the contentiousness of Franciscans from various parts of Ireland all contributed. Considering that most of these factors were, at the very least, difficult to alter, not even remedial measures could have too great a hope of success. A temporary improvement at least could be brought by a strong and respected figure appointed to lead the college, but there was no such individual among the Irish at that time. The

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general of the order decided to appoint Amandus Hermann as head of the college. However, as the general had written in the introduction to the above-mentioned articles of correction, some members of the college, for personal reasons, preferred a less able, younger and immature superior. Hermann was a member of the Bohemian Franciscan province and one of their leading representatives.[15] The Irish may have felt affronted by such interference, but López, in writing at least, appointed Hermann as commissary in order to implement the articles of correction in the college. Whether this actually happened and how successful it was, we do not know, and we do not even know whether he served as guardian of the college; in 1696, both Gerald Geraldin and Thomas Dolan were mentioned as guardian.[16]

On 10 November 1692, Archbishop Valdštejn signed an agreement with representatives of the Cistercians (it was signed by the Abbot of Plasy and vicar general, Andreas Troyer, as well as the Abbots of Sedlec, Osek, Zbraslav, Zlatá Koruna and Vyšší Brod) and the Premonstratensians (represented by the Abbots of Strahov, Teplá and Želiv), to whom he had already granted the Departments of Theology and Philosophy. In line with the agreement of 1670, the Benedictines participated in teaching.[17] Opinion was unequivocal about the departure of the Irish Franciscans, who were called to the seminary by Harrach only when there were not enough Cistercian or Premonstratensian lectors and *ex pura gratia*; experience had long shown that the students were adversely affected by the sudden and often unexpected changes of Irish Franciscan teachers, whose appointment should no doubt have been at the discretion of the archbishop, but whose continued work at the seminary or withdrawal lay, because of their membership of a religious order, in the hands of their superiors. Accordingly, from that time onwards, the only ones who would teach were those who did so at the discretion of the archbishop and directly of their abbots. In order to prevent possible disputes, there were clearly defined conditions in the contract which laid out how the members of the individual orders were to take turns. The proposal proved effective because, as far as we know, no disputes arose on this point.[18]

The members of the local orders proved themselves capable of quickly resolving an issue that had been the subject of dispute among the Irish Franciscans for more than fifty years. It may be supposed that this development of events did not arouse enthusiasm in the Irish college and that the explanatory letters, from the first half of November 1692 and sent by Valdštejn to some cardinals, were perhaps intended to prevent a new reversal of the situation in favour of the Irish Franciscans, which might have been enforced from above. The Irish teachers, however, had to leave the seminary. Shortly afterwards, Peter Marian Murry was teaching at the Cistercian

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monastery in Waldsassen.[19] As early as 1696 under Archbishop Breuner, the existing state of affairs was confirmed by the papal bull of Innocent XII; there is a brief mention in the text of the teaching of the Irish Franciscans and of their replacement brought about by the new flourishing of the orders teaching at the seminary.[20] The Irish Franciscans were hardly able to do anything about this, but nevertheless they refused to admit defeat. In July 1698, Archbishop Breuner wrote to the Cistercian vicar general and visitator, saying that the Irish were not only attempting, step by step, to regain the departments at the seminary but also securing the most powerful support (*potentissima patrocinia*) of the Emperor, of his chief ministers, especially the Supreme Chancellor (at that time, František Oldřich, Count Kinský of Vchynice), as well as of the Spanish Ambassador, although the archbishop was assured that nothing could be reinstated or changed in contravention to the papal bull by whose authority the Department of Theology had been entrusted to the other orders. It seemed to Breuner that it would be better if Troyer and the other interested parties drafted a memorandum of the aforesaid compelling arguments for the retention of the department in the hands of the Cistercians and Premonstratensians and sent this to him as archbishop. In this respect, he promised them the greatest possible help on his part. If it was not possible to deter the Irish Franciscans without conflict or greater difficulties with the court, it was decided to leave them with only the Department of Canon Law. The required memorandum, signed by the Abbot of Strahov, Vít Seipl, as well as Troyer, was not ready even a fortnight later. The Irish Franciscans would like to return to the seminary, wrote both prelates, but by what right? In Rome, Louvain and Prague, they had their own colleges where they spread their teachings. The Cistercians and Premonstratensians did not want to be removed from the seminary, where the Irish would teach their monks to no avail, sometimes for up to a year, until the students could understand their foreign pronunciation of Latin well enough to be able to follow their lectures without difficulty. If the Irish Franciscans taught canon law, the prelates said, it would be sure to cause laughter at the university.[21]

Understandably, good relations were maintained outwardly, or at least the Irish attempted to do so.[22] This is not too surprising: with personal contact, the Irish were obviously able to gain powerful supporters, which, especially in view of the interconnections of individual families and their contacts, reaching up to the court, cannot have been too problematic. However, they mostly undermined their own status, at one time so high, in Church circles in Prague precisely at a time when their work at the seminary would not have been observed by the Premonstratensians and Cistercians, who found it hard to bear that the teaching of theology was not entrusted to them, with any great enthusiasm even if it had been accompanied by an irreproachable morality.

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Besides the teachers, all of the Irish youths also left the seminary, it being contrary to the regulations of the order and statutes of the college for them to be educated in any theological teaching other than Scotism. The young Irish novices, who could have been granted permission to be ordained by the guardian of the college in accordance with the privilege of 1667, were, however, ordained by the Archbishops of Prague or by auxiliary bishops. Six were ordained in the years 1695 to 1699, four in 1700, five in 1702, as many as nine in 1704, three in 1703 to 1707, and five in 1709. Up until 1700, it was usually Archbishop Breuner who conducted ordinations, and then from 1702, they were solely conducted by auxiliary bishop Vít Seipl, already known to us as the Abbot of Strahov.[23]

From then on, the Irish Franciscans concentrated on their literary and scholarly activities solely within their own college. The most significant (or, in terms of literature, most active) figure in the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century was Francis O'Devlin, who was also renowned for his work in Irish. In about 1695, he was at Waldsassen, the Cistercian monastery (his *Theses theologicae de fide, spe et charitate* was published); two years later, he was lector in theology and philosophy at the Prague college, where he presided at Anthony Tuite's defence of his thesis.[24] In 1698, he is referred there as teacher of Holy Theology and the Word of God (*SS. Theologiae ac Verbi Dei Lector*); on the occasion of Louis Ryan's defence of his thesis in the same year, his theological work *Gladius spiritus* was published, dedicated to his former ward, Franz Anton, Count Sporck, and decorated with a notable engraving which referred to the military successes and Church patronage of members of this family.[25] The title page of the thesis which Patrick Babe defended in 1704 under O'Devlin's chairmanship also bore a dedication to Sporck and, besides a depiction of the Virgin Mary, contained the same Sporck motifs as the *Gladius* engraving.[26] The frame of the scene is formed by medallions with portraits of Franciscan saints, popes and high dignitaries of the Church, scholars and martyrs. The youngest of those portrayed died in 1702, for among the martyrs are Patrick Fleming and his companion, as well as a representative of the Franciscans of Our Lady of the Snows who had been killed in 1611. The author of the design was O'Devlin himself. John Toland met him when visiting the Prague college in 1708.[27] Toland's edition of works by English republican James Harrington is included in the catalogue of the Irish Franciscan library. Harrington's *magnum opus* is listed there as *Oceana*. Perhaps this was a reminder of Toland's stay in the Prague college. In 1710, paid for by the bookseller Johann Zeiger, the first part of O'Devlin's textbook, *Philosophia scoto-aristotelica*, was published. It was clearly intended as a teaching aid for

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young noblemen (Fig. 23) (which is evident from phrases in the approval by Francis Donoghue from the Prague college: *"I found that the work was . . . written for the use of the young in their studies, verified several times recently by the outstanding progress of the young counts and noblemen who are pupils of this priest. . ."*). The manuscript was certainly ready in 1706, because it was in that year that O'Devlin was permitted to print it by the general procurator of the Franciscan Order and the imprimatur shows that there was also to be a second work (although no copy of this has been found). The work was dedicated to the nephews of Franz Anton, Count Sporck.[28] The youngest one, Johann Rudolph, a future Auxiliary Bishop of Prague, defended his philosophical thesis the following year under the chairmanship of O' Devlin. The printed work was entitled *Nucleus fundamentalis ac theses ex universa philosophia.* We meet this work again in 1712, when it was published on the occasion of the defence by Count Octavius Piccolomini.[29] It shows that, as in other Prague monasteries, young noblemen were taught at the Irish college; although it is clear from López's regulations that there was some form of teaching of the laity even earlier. The departure of the Franciscans from the archiepiscopal seminary may have been an incentive to extend such activities. It is difficult to say to what extent this tuition was carried out, but it is known from elsewhere that when they continued these activities up to a certain point and became a sort of "aristocratic academy," naturally the Jesuits from Prague University responded. In comparison with the university, the very best tuition at the college remained incomplete in the sense that the students could not gain an academic degree. One of O'Devlin's colleagues whose name we know was John Malone is documented as lector in theology at the college in 1703.[30] In 1714, O'Devlin returned to Ireland and joined a circle of scholars and writers in Dublin who focused on the Irish language.[31]

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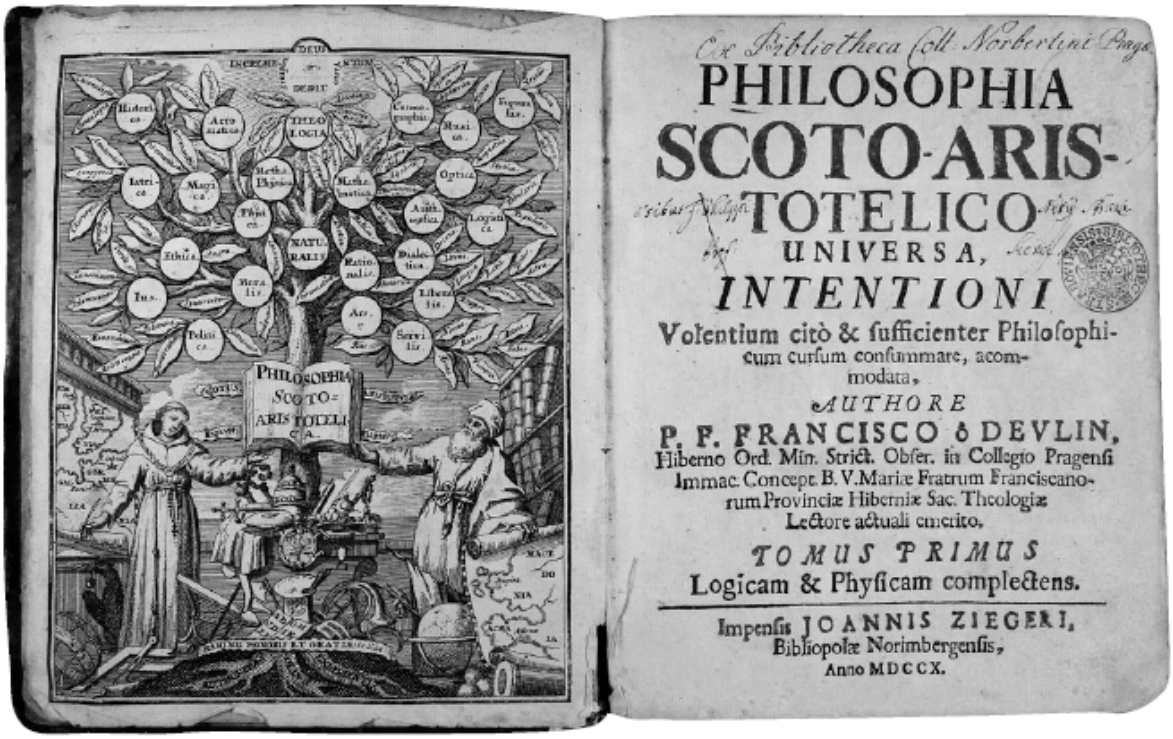

Fig. 23 The title doublepage of *Philosophia Scoto-Aristotelico-universa* by Francis O'Devlin. Engraving, Nuremberg, 1710 (SK).

"THE HIBERNIANS, FOR MONEY"

The financing of the general running of the college caused certain problems. In the 1660s, the friars were, besides alms, already primarily dependent on sums paid by the Bohemian Chamber from the liberal settlements of previous years. Appeals for disbursement usually have the laconic Czech comment *"Hyberni, o peníze"* ("The Hibernians, for money") written on the back. As a rule, in the introduction to such an appeal, the college pleaded intolerable necessity and then requested the payment of, most commonly, 100 florins or, from the Chamber estates, such provisions as fish, meat or wheat – and all this once or twice a year.

Resources were not, understandably, unlimited. At the end of 1666, the Royal Revenue Office presented the Bohemian Chamber with a statement of the balance of the amount granted to the college from the Martinic donation and the balance of the bequest of Kateřina Ludmila Dvořecká, née Countess Šliková. Altogether, there remained 591 florins 40 kreutzer; the rest had dwindled away in the previous eight years. In the years 1667 to 1669, the Irish Franciscans requested the payment of an additional 400 florins, and, besides this, in July 1668, Emperor Leopold I ordered the Revenue Office to pay the Irish Franciscans another 200 florins for the

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construction of a college infirmary. However, in the early 1670s, in terms of a secure income, the Irish were impoverished.

The Emperor subsidised them again with the decree of 27 July 1671, on the basis of which they were to be supplied with provisions from the Chamber estates to a total value of 600 to 700 florins and the Royal Chamber was to pay them 500 florins as a contribution to the construction of a bell tower, a contribution which the Irish applied for again in 1672. They requested in advance rams and beef cattle to the value of 400 florins from the dominion of Zbiroh, fish (mostly carp and pike) to the value of 200 florins from the dominion of Poděbrady, and butter and wheat to the value of 100 florins from elsewhere. In November 1673, in the request for four hundredweight of carp and two hundredweight of pike, they estimated the balance of the Emperor's allowance to be more than 100 florins. By 9 September 1675, the merciless Revenue Office had calculated the balance to be 25 florins 15 kreutzer: there was nothing for it but more humble petitions.

In subsequent years, the custom was established that, when their request was made, the President of the Court Chamber Council (*President Hofkammerräthe*) would charge the Bohemian Royal Chamber with supplying them with, "in place of alms," a certain quantity of provisions from the Chamber dominions. In 1682, for example, they were to receive a hundred strychs (strych or korec = 93.587 litres) of corn, six hundredweight (centnýř = 61.728 kg) of carp, two hundredweight of pike, four oxen and fourteen rams. In 1687, however, the allowances for the Irish Franciscans were to be put on par with those of the Capuchins of Hradčany, which meant only twenty strychs of corn, four hundredweight of pike, six hundredweight of carp and seven hogsheads of wine.

However, over the years, the Royal Chamber showed further inclination to save money and, in October 1702, only allowed the Irish Franciscans half of the provisions they had received the year before, that is, two oxen and seven rams from the dominion of Pardubice, three and a half hogsheads of wine from Brandýs, three hundredweight of carp and two hundredweight of pike from Poděbrady, and ten rafts of firewood from the building office (*Bauamt*), everything *"ohne einzige Consequenz,"* that is, without the right to receive the same allowance the following year. Fortunately, they did, but it was only a reprieve before the final refusal. In March 1705, the Accounting Department of the Royal Bohemian Chamber (*Cammer-Buchhalterey*) announced that "all Chamber estates have been leased, and, therefore, they can no longer supply provisions,

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but during the current complete exhaustion of the Revenue Office, it is hardly possible to buy provisions from the lessees." This is also the last document on this matter it has been possible to find.[32]

Fig. 24 The Irish Franciscan church and its vicinity according to a veduta by Folpert van Ouden-Allen of 1685 (SK).

Before the end of the seventeenth century, they were helped by the last will of their former benefactress, Maria Mechtilde de Dieten. Besides the mentioned bequest to the Irish Franciscans, she left half of her fortune to her grandson, Franz Anton of Billau; however, if he should die before he came of age, the money would go to the Irish Franciscans. The child died of the plague in 1680, but the Franciscans only asked for the bequest in 1692, evidently after the death of his mother, Anna Franziska. In May of that year, Ondřej Frischmann, a sworn provincial barrister, whom Anna Franziska of Billau had named as her heir, declared that he knew of the conditions attached to the will and that he was not demanding any of the property originally intended for Franz Anton. The Revenue Office then calculated the amount for the Irish Franciscans at 6,001 florins 52 kreutzer; the annual allowance was supposed to be 600 florins, but it was often not even as much as this. By the end of 1699, a total of 4,410 florins had been paid. The final request for a withdrawal from the bequest was in May 1702 (Fig. 24).[33]

Decidedly more bizarre was the request made in 1699. Václav Vojtěch, Count of Šternberk, was probably behind this affair. That is, the Irish Franciscans were requesting an unpaid debt

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which the builder Jean Baptiste Mathey owed the Bohemian Chamber for the construction of the Imperial Riding School and which had been estimated at 400 florins. Because Mathey left for France without the sovereign's permission, after his death his estate went by default to the Treasury and was later given by the sovereign to Václav Vojtěch, Count of Šternberk, who agreed with his heir, Prudentius Renaut de Bisón, that the outstanding debt would be transferred to the Irish Franciscans. In the end, the result of the pile of handwritten papers was evidently the recommendation that the Irish Franciscans appeal to the heir. In the absence of any confirmation that they drew on the money, it is unlikely that they succeeded in obtaining any of it.[34]

It is no surprise that the Irish Franciscans resorted to such measures. Admittedly, we cannot forget the income the college had from alms gathering, from Mass offerings, payments for funerals and so on, but the time of generous single gifts, which had for a number of years represented the assurance of the college's existence or the opportunity to undertake extensive construction, clearly came to an end for the Irish Franciscans towards the end of the seventeenth century and it might have been difficult to find a benefactor who did not want his money used for a specific purpose, as the Count of Šternberk had in the building of the library. The unfinished Chapel of All the Faithful Departed, as Hammerschmid informs us, was also evidence of a definite waning of interest. The astounding sums of the foundation period and the one immediately afterwards, it must be admitted, sometimes existed only on paper, as we have seen, or they were swallowed up by the construction of the college and the church, but fifty years later, the friars no longer found fellow countrymen and patrons in Central Europe who might be willing in this way to ease their consciences a little. The generosity of the Emperors, too, had its limits. And at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Irish Franciscan province had to face escalating persecution in Ireland and the continental friaries were overcrowded after the exodus of many friars from their home country, it was no small wonder that the Prague college asked the Chancellery at Court to confirm its old privileges, including being able to seek alms during Advent and on festivals. State authorities exempted the Prague friary from paying fees for the confirmation that was issued on 1 September 1718.[35]

SAPIENTIA AEDIFICAVIT SIBI DOMUM[36]

Even in this period, however, the Irish college still, to a certain degree, retained the goodwill of its patrons. If we start with demonstrable expressions of such goodwill, besides Count Sporck,

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the Šternberk family remained faithful to the Irish. As mentioned above, they contributed to the decoration of the church and Anthony Bruodin dedicated his *Propugnaculum* as a New Year gift for 1699 to the brothers Václav Vojtěch, Jan Norbert and Ignác Karel. From the Irish side, the Šternberk family gained the attention not only of friars; in 1697, William MacNeven O'Kelly, Baron of Aughrim, dedicated his eulogy *Templum gloriae in monte stellari extructum* to this family.[37]

Jan Norbert died as early as 1679, and Ignác Karel in 1700. Among other things, Ignác Karel left a large and famous library, probably kept originally at the Šternberk chateau, Zelená Hora (Fig. 25). Because he had no descendants, the inheritance was divided equally between his older brother, Václav Vojtěch, and his nephew, Jan Josef, but the latter did not long outlive his uncle, dying tragically the same year. His part of the library was intended for Prague University, but the bequest was not realised and the library remained the property of Václav Vojtěch[38] who attained high provincial office and was, at the same time, an influential "spiritual father" or officially apostolic syndic of the College of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. He decided that the inherited books would be used for the benefit of the friars.

Fig. 25 Ignác Karel of Šternberk's super ex libris (SK).

The plan was rather generous and, as early as March 1701, the first stone was laid for the construction of a new library. Over the next few years, the count paid the bills for the building work; in 1706, Baltazar Fischer from Prague received 200 florins for joinery in the library,

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another 78 florins for unspecified expenditure was paid to the guardian, Francis More, and 125 florins to Antonio Lurago for building alterations.[39]

In his will of 1708, Václav Vojtěch stipulated that the entire library of the deceased Ignác Karel should be deposited in the Irish Franciscan college and that it should be accessible to the public (*ad usum publicum*). From his inheritance, 150 florins were spent each year to pay two librarians and on essential expenditure and a further 150 florins from Maria Theresia, the then nine-year-old daughter of Jan Josef, to whom he was guardian. The execution of the will, however, gradually ran into difficulties on both sides. Maria Theresia, whose married name was Countess Paar, refused to pay the sum of 150 florins which Václav Vojtěch had left for her to pay *"sine jure"* in his last will. His heir, František Leopold, Count of Šternberk, referred to the poor state of the inheritance, from which, once all outstanding debts had been settled, it was not actually possible to pay the Irish Franciscans the promised sum. The friars evidently began to use the space intended for the library for other purposes, so they found it difficult to clear out "the best part of the college" and, moreover, under conditions of reclusion. Besides this, the university remembered its rights. In 1724, therefore, František Leopold came to an arrangement with the Irish Franciscans in which they stated the aforesaid impediments and the fact that Václav Vojtěch could not freely dispose of half of the library, and they decided on the following: half of the library would be transferred to the Carolinum so that it could be used by the Faculties of Law and Medicine and the other half would remain with the library of the Irish Franciscans, but no longer with the condition that it be accessible to the public. If the library could not be divided in half, the deficiency would be compensated for in cash. The Count of Šternberk permitted the friars to freely use the building which had been constructed at his expense for their needs, but with the express condition that the Šternberk coat-of-arms should be placed in commemoration on the outside, which indeed happened.[40] With this agreement, all responsibilities imposed by Václav Vojtěch on Countess Paar were rescinded.[41] It seems probable that in reality the library remained with the Count of Šternberk until 1724. Two years later, selected books were officially handed over to the university, and it is clear that it was not until representatives of the university had indicated which books they wished to take that the Irish Franciscans could be given the remainder.

The Irish Franciscans' own library, however, came into being together with the college; its foundation was one of the first concerns of the friars after they arrived in Prague.[42] This is what Patrick Fleming told Robert Rochford, lector in philosophy at the Louvain college, in April

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1631.[43] Despite this, it was possible to find some interesting works in Prague itself, as evidenced by two volumes gained from the property of the Mělník dean, Jan Václav Tlappa of Wainberg – an edition of the medical writings of Constantinus Africanus from 1536, which were registered in the college library in 1643; and somewhat later, with Anthony Farrell as intermediary, the Lyon edition of the writings of St. Jerome from 1518 was added.[44] This second acquisition also includes the Scotist theological writings of the Franciscan Stephan Brulefer published in Basel in 1501, which, with James Cavell as intermediary, were given by the Kutná Hora archdean, Matouš Černovský, together with a volume of Pietro Tartareto's commentaries on Aristotle and Petrus Hispanus (later Pope John XXI) in the Paris edition of 1514.[45] These works can also be found in a 1503 Lyon edition of Tartareto, which is provenanced by a college note from 1632.[46] More detailed information about the Strahov library book collection which has become available since the publication of the present volume in Czech allows us to formulate a hypothesis that the Irish Franciscans obtained basic theological works, editions of Church Fathers as well as other authors, as donations only in Prague, often from priests. Many of these donated books were incunabula or post-incunabula. It is possible to presume that the donors recorded these books as valuable because of their antiquity but, at the same time, they did not use them since they had modern editions at hand. It is evident from the Flemish translation of the work by St. Bonaventure, *Speculum disciplinae ad novitios*, published in Antwerp in 1605 by the Plantin printing house,[47] that some of the books were brought by the friars.

The question of the extent and content of the library before the Šternberk acquisition is now in fact unanswerable. A single catalogue has been preserved, which records the contents only after the settlement with the Šternberk family in the 1720s. The entire stock of the library, however, has not been preserved, having been scattered after the dissolution of the college. It is impossible to untangle, even in part, the contents of the Šternberk and Franciscan libraries from other sources. According to the information in the literature, the Šternberk library contained 2,500 books and more than ten manuscripts.[48] In the Strahov library, there is preserved a catalogue of works of mathematics, astronomy, geography, military science and the occult sciences in the library of Ignác Karel, Count Šternberk, which was compiled at the beginning of the 1680s. The catalogue containing 218 works is composed in part of books filed under location number *D* and in part from an alphabetical inventory of these books. The question is whether there were any more catalogues based on subject or location in the library.[49]

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We have no intention of attempting a reconstruction of the Franciscans' library here, although it would be an interesting task, only to summarise what is possible to determine with relatively superficial research. Anyone who embarks on this painstaking operation, whose results are, as a rule, not too appealing to the reader, is obliged, if not in possession of encyclopaedic knowledge, to combine the statistical viewpoint, aiming at the identification of as many represented authors as possible, with research aimed at known fields of literary creation. This, with the best will in the world, may lead to unique (even by their representation in the library) works from fields the researcher is not familiar with being overlooked. The work is also made more difficult by the way it is recorded in the catalogue, being limited to the name of the author and, expressed euphemistically, the Latinised term. We therefore concentrated primarily on the basic specification of the theological works in the library, especially those by Scotist authors and by friars working in the college. Secondly, we attempted to complete the cataloguing of the works connected with Ireland, England and Scotland, which was an unmistakably unique collection in Prague, and, thirdly, we noted the occurrence of works in Czech – that is, to what extent the library was open to Czech literary production. With the first two groups, we can legitimately presume that the books were directly acquired by members of the community, while with the third group it is possible that they were partly accessions from the Šternberk library. In the first group, we deliberately almost entirely omit older authors and concentrate on theology from the sixteenth century onwards. It is thus possible to verify how contemporary schools and tendencies were represented in the library.

The catalogue of the college library is now in the National Library in Prague.[50] It was begun by Patrick Hackett in August 1752.[51] The books are arranged alphabetically according to author (Fig. 26). The title is always in Latin. It is always shown in its Latinised version if the book was in another language and a note of the language is added in brackets. This admittedly means that, in a number of instances, there is a brief characterisation of the contents rather than the title. This is true to an even greater extent with the anonymous works. The beginnings of the alphabetical sections (under each letter, though it is never arranged according to the second letter but the next vowel, for example, "Anselmus" precedes "Adrichomia") are all in one handwriting (evidently Hackett's), and then new works have been added by other hands. A rough calculation shows that there are about ten thousand books in the catalogue. The books are recorded as follows: author's name (if shown in the book); title; manuscripts rarely had a specification of the type of document (*Ms*); and the shelf mark thus – capital letter + format + Arabic numeral (for example, E 4° 176). The final column contains numerical entries,

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admittedly only for certain books, and we have been unable to determine exactly what purpose these served.

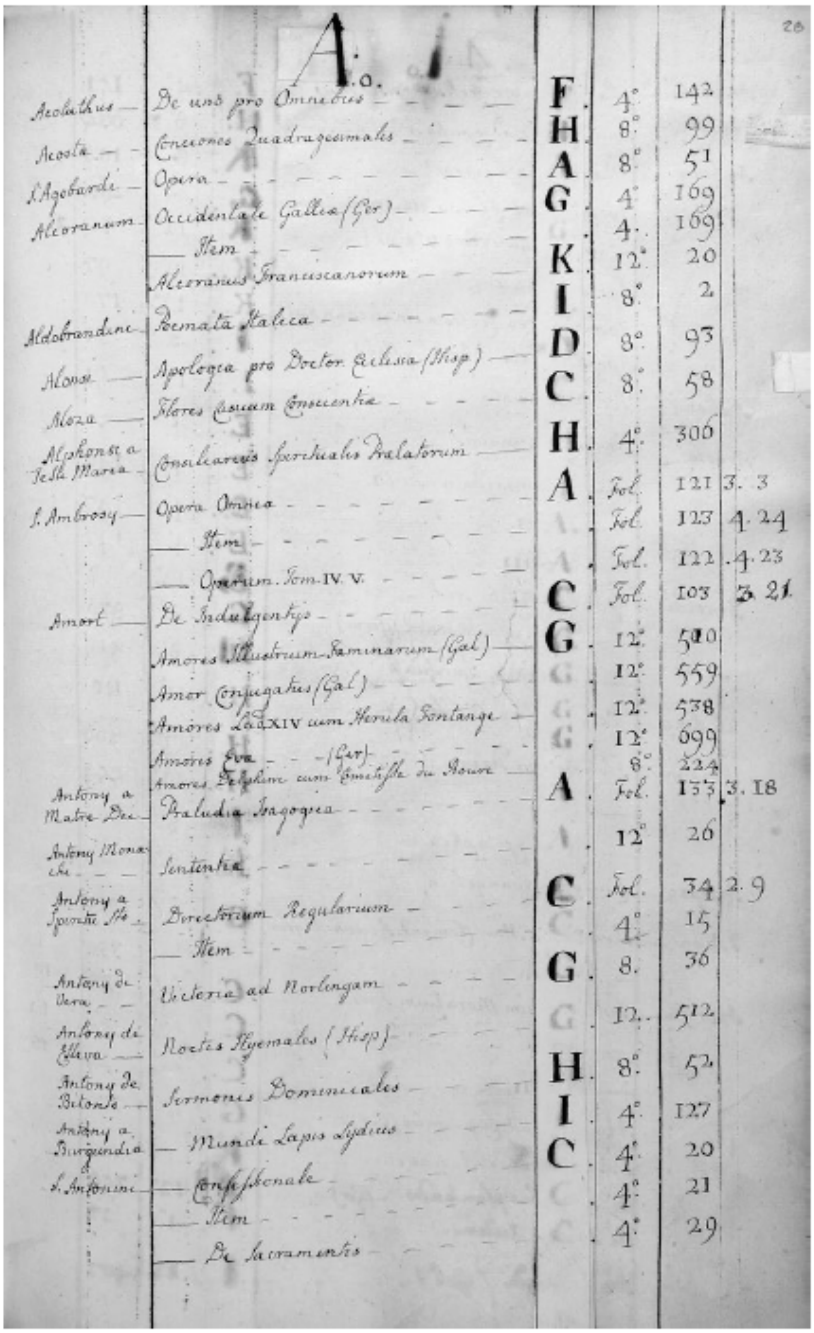

Fig. 26 A page from the catalogue of the library in the Irish Franciscan college in Prague, post 1752 (NK).

We can consider the Bible as the absolute basis of the library of a religious institution (as well as the directly connected biblical concordances and commentaries), along with books required for the celebration of the liturgy, constituent documents of the order (the Rule, interpretations and commentaries on the Rule, statutes and so on) and the theological writings of the order's authors and schools of thought. In the extensive collection of bibles, with practically indistinguishable examples, identification is impossible, with perhaps the exception of the folio New Testament in Czech, which we can guess may be the first volume of the St. Wenceslas

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Bible (*Svatováclavská bible*), and the Gospels in Greek, Czech, German and Latin may be *Evangelia et epistolae* published in Bremen in 1616.[52] A number of bibles were in English. Of the later commentaries, we could name the standard work by Cornelius a Lapide, the commentary by Alfonso Salmerón or the one by the Carmelite, Joannes de Sylveira. Books used in the liturgy understandably did not belong to the library or the catalogue, but were in the hands of the friars. So it can come as no surprise that we can only find in the catalogue what was in some way superfluous, whether out-of-date and unusable in terms of Church precepts, or belonging to another order or Church province or rarely used locally for language or other reasons. Among the few surviving examples of breviaries are a Roman one and a Benedictine one, and, preserved in the Strahov library from the Irish Franciscan collection, there is a breviary from the Salzburg archdiocese, printed in Venice in 1518.[53] There is also a *Caeremoniale missalis* in Spanish, wedding ceremonies in French, several *caeremoniale episcoporum* and *caeremoniale* of the Carmelites and Barnabites, then the *Graduale romanum* and *Martyrologium romanum*. One example of martyrology, Czech and understandably Franciscan, is shown, but in a different place in the catalogue under the author Arthur Du Monstier. There is also an unspecified Olomouc missal. With the basic documents of the order, the same situation occurred as with the liturgical books; there was good reason for them not to be in the library. It was a different case with the collected works of the saints and distinguished men of the Order of Friars Minor: examples include the collected writings of St. Francis of Assisi (including the Rule, his life and a volume entitled *Opuscula Varia*) and St. Bonaventure,[54] an unspecified work by St. Anthony of Padua or the collected writings and sermons of St. Bernardine of Siena.[55] Of the older distinguished Church authors, the library contained a considerable number of works by St. Augustine (the collected twelve-volume edition and a number of other individual titles, in German and French as well), the collected edition of the writings of St. Albert the Great, St. Anselm, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, St. Cyprian (with a commentary by Erasmus of Rotterdam), St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. John Chrysostom, St. Gregory the Great and others.

For the Franciscan library, the primary theological texts were the writings of John Duns Scotus. Although even in this case we cannot identify the particular edition, we can confidently assume that it was the edition published by Luke Wadding. Besides the works by Wadding himself, the author of *Annales*, the magnificent work on the history of the Franciscan Order, and his colleague John Punch (often called Poncius in the literature), two copies of whose extensive philosophical and theological commentaries on Scotus were owned by the college, Wadding's

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nephew, Bonaventure Baron, is also to be found there. (Wadding's edition of works by St. Francis of Assisi entitled *Opuscula* was in the library.) Although we cannot be certain, hiding under the titles *De Deo Trino* and *De angelis* are most probably Scotist theological tracts first published in Lyon in 1668, or in Florence in 1676, as the case may be; under the title *Cursus philosophicus* is a three-volume work published in Cologne in 1664; and shown as *Annales ordinis Sanctissimae trinitatis* is the first volume (no further ones were published) of a history of the Order of the Holy Trinity, published in Rome in 1684.[56] A digest in two volumes of Wadding's *Annales* was published by Francis Harold, who was also in Prague, and this work, too, was owned by the library. Other students at the college were Francis Bermingham and the above-mentioned Bonaventure O'Connor Kerry, who wrote, among other things, the apologetical work *Lumen orthodoxum*.[57] One of the Louvain authors in the library was, understandably, John Colgan, who had been in charge of the demanding project, *Acta sanctorum Hiberniae.* We do not know whether the library had, in particular, a rare print of the text on St. Patrick's Purgatory, which Andrew MacVeigh (Vitalis) had drawn up in 1652 in a revised form from another of Colgan's works, *Trias Thaumaturga.* It is not to be found in the catalogue, but, nevertheless, it is notable that a copy was owned by the library of the Franciscan friary in Votice.[58] Raymond Caron, friend and supporter of Peter Walsh, was represented here by *Apostolatus missionarium*, *Controversiae generales fidei* and other minor works.

Based on the catalogue, traces of the literary activity of members of the college are not very significant, but there is an explanation for this. The annual printed theses were regarded more as consumer goods and only some of them sometimes found their way into the library and were recorded in the catalogue. Perhaps the most important work by an Irishman in Prague was *Collectanea sacra* by Patrick Fleming, and they naturally possessed the writings of Anthony Bruodin, including the polemic with Thomas Carve, although the writer was a member of the Bohemian Franciscan province for most of his life. The books in the catalogue which originated in teaching were primarily the work of James Griffin. There were also many copies of Anthony Murphy's *Theologia dogmatica*, published in Prague in the mid-1750s.

Among the remaining contemporary Scotists in the catalogue are: John Bosco (1613–1684), a member of the Franciscan branch of Recollects and teacher at Louvain; the Minorites, Jean Gabriel Boyvin (died c.1680), who taught in the order's schools, and Bartholomeus Mastrius (1602–1673); the Franciscan Francis Lychet; Claude Frassen (1620–1711), whose first entry in the catalogue is *Disquisitiones biblicae*, then later *Scotus academicus*, one of the main works of the Scotist school; Philip Faber (died 1630). It is impossible to determine from how they were

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recorded whether the books by Mastrius in the library were either in various editions or multiple copies of one edition. Local authors are represented by Vilém Antonín Brouček, whose *Domus sapientiae* was the first Scotist philosophical handbook to be printed in Bohemia; the philosophical, theological and historical works of the most significant scholar of the Bohemian Franciscan province, Bernard Sannig; and the complete works of Anthony Bruodin. Another Scotist author connected with the Bohemian Franciscan province was Amandus Hermann, whose *Ethica sacra* (published in Würzburg in 1698) and *Tractatus theologici in sententiarum libros Joannis Dunsii Scoti* (Cologne, 1690) are recorded in the catalogue. The author, however, is shown for the first time in the catalogue as "Amandus" and then other works are shown, such as *Capistranus triumphans*, under "Hermann" Other Franciscan theologians are to be found, such as Patrick Sporer or Francis Henno (like Mastrius, in various editions or multiple copies of the same one).

To represent Scotus appropriately, the library included Thomas Aquinas, whose extensive writings occupied many lines of the catalogue. Unfortunately, in this case as well, it is impossible to provide even an approximate identification, as with the Thomists of the Dominican Order (and not only them); we can mention individual authors but we cannot find specific editions of their works at all.[59] Jesuit authors, too, make up an extensive entry in the catalogue.[60] Roderigo Arriaga, who served in Prague, was represented in the library by *Cursus philosophicus* and *Disputationes theologicae in Summam D. Thomae*, but it is not possible to determine which editions. We could also mention the commentaries on Aristotle from the Jesuit college in Coimbra. Works by Carmelites are also represented: apart from the above-mentioned Sylveira, there were Philippus a S. Trinitate, Dominicus a S. Trinitate, Gabriel a S. Vincentio, Didacus a S. Antonio, Joannes a Jesu Maria and again commentaries on Aristotle, this time by Carmelite scholars from the college at Alcalá.

The Irish evidently obtained the basic modern hagiographical work of the Catholic Church, *Acta Sanctorum*, over a period of time: they had the volumes for April of the Antwerp edition and in part those for June and July, but they obtained the Venice edition (it began to appear in 1734) up to September; the Antwerp September volumes appeared in the middle of the seventeenth century. Individual volumes can, however, be found under author. Besides these, they had the hagiographies by Laurentius Surius. Contemporary Church histories appear in the catalogue, such as the notable work by Caesar Baronius, and those by Alexander de Natalis, Antoine Godeau and Claude Fleury. There are also numerous works by Louis Maimbourg, Jesuit Church historian and keen opponent of Jansenism.[61] We do not intend to detail the

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occurrence of authors popular at the time; it may suffice to mention Cardinal Giovanni Bona or the popular moralist Hermann Busenbaum. In contrast, a fixed star in the sky of ascetic literature is *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis, still read many centuries later, and which was in the library in Latin as well as German, French and Spanish.

However, even theologians whose teachings the Church had not approved found their way into the library. There were numerous works by Cornelius Jansen; in the catalogue, his commentaries on the Pentateuch appear six times, those on the Gospels five times and his *Augustinus* once. It is worth mentioning here the suspicion Malachy Fallon aroused with his lectures and his relatively close contacts with Louvain. Among other Jansenist theologians was Louis Ellies du Pin (the library contained several volumes of his *Bibliothecae auctorum ecclesiasticorum*), but there are also opponents of Jansenism, provided the Tournelius shown in the catalogue is in fact Honoré de Tournély. There is also one work by Miguel de Molinos, one of the chief representatives of Quietism.[62]

To what extent were the past and present of the Irish Franciscans' distant homeland and England and Scotland reflected in the profile of the library? Political and historical works connected with the islands are well represented in the catalogue, often in editions in German or French. With anonymous works, it is impossible to recognise from the greatly simplified titles (*Relatio*. . . or *Historia*. . .) which language it was. There were even surprises: a volume of Spanish romances from the sixteenth century was hidden under the title *Historia Hispanica*. Anonymous biographies of English sovereigns are quite common. While one copy of the topographical work on Great Britain by William Camden is preserved in the Strahov library,[63] elsewhere, with a title such as *Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*, we can only guess that it was by Camden. Some copies have been preserved in the National Library in Prague, including Maurice Conry's *Threnodia hiberno-catholicae* on the persecution of Catholics in Ireland, which he published under the pseudonym of Morison.[64] There was also MacMahon's *Jus primatiale Armacanum*, which was obtained for the library by the guardian, William Hogan, in 1739, along with Richard Cox's *Hibernia anglicana: or, The History of Ireland* from 1689.[65] Carve's works, so criticised by Bruodin, are there. In the "English circle" could be included the collection of poetry by Elizabeth Jane Weston, who lived and died in Prague. While in these cases we mainly have the titles of the works, although the copies have been lost, sometimes it is the other way round. There are no doubt books without the mark of provenance of the college

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library which clearly arrived in Prague through the Irish Franciscans; for example, a basic Irish language textbook in English, published in 1728 in Louvain, which originally belonged to Father Thomas Mahon and later became the property of Brother Terence Maguire.[66]

Today, thanks to rapidly developing Internet resources, we can trace more books than was possible with the Czech edition just over a decade ago. The library collection included a general edition of *The Present State of England* by Edward Chamberlayn. Hugh MacCurtin was the author of *The Elements of the Irish Language* alluded to above and he also wrote *A brief discourse in vindication of the antiquity of Ireland collected out of many authentic Irish histories and chronicles.* A book described in the library catalogue as *Monasticon Hibernicum anglice* could perhaps be identified as John Weever's *Ancient funerall monuments within the united monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland and the islands adiacent, with the dissolued monasteries therein contained*, the first edition of which was released in London in 1631. *Florum Historiae Ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum libri septem* was written by Richard Smith, titular bishop of Chalcedon and, from 1625, vicar apostolic of England, Wales and Scotland. A history of English monasteries of Benedictines, Cistercians, and Carthusians by William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth was published under the title *Monasticon Anglicanum* in the years 1655 to 1673. The volume registered as *Errington Missionarium* probably referred to the life and work of Catholic priest William Errington. It was obviously entered in the catalogue subsequently because Errington's mission in England began in 1748 and did not achieve anything important until 1763.

The Irish did not limit themselves to imported literature. From the catalogue it is clear that they also paid attention to the book production of the Bohemian Crown Lands, and not only works in Latin and German, languages accessible to them, or those, such as the above-mentioned authors of philosophical and theological writings, whose subjects were of interest to them, but also works in Czech. We naturally need to ask to what extent this was a case of planned purchasing and to what extent they were, for example, gifts or, as we have shown, the Šternberk acquisition.[67] In formulating a hypothesis, caution is called for, although it would be tempting to prove from the stock of the library that the community was not so isolated in the Czech environment, that its members were interested in finding out about the country they were in, or even, in the case of Czech writings, some of them, to a certain extent at least, mastered Czech. Contemporary authors, especially those who had something to do with the college, the archiepiscopal seminary or the Franciscan Order as such, may have dedicated one or more copies of their work to the library.

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More precise specification is, however, impossible, especially in relation to works published more than once. With Bohuslav Balbín, we find ourselves puzzled as to whether it is his historical work; that is, we can find three copies of a book entitled *Historiae Bohemiae*, one of just *Historiae*, two of *Epitome ejus* (meaning *historiae*), one of *Miscellanea Bohemia* and, surprisingly, one of the precisely specified sixth book of the ten-part *Miscellanea* (on the Prague Archbishopric). In any case, however, the library of the Irish Franciscans was well supplied with the works of the leading Bohemian Baroque historiographer. Besides these, we can also find all three of Balbín's works on the Marian places of pilgrimage (Svatá Hora – let us not forget the reverence for the Virgin Mary in the church of the Irish Franciscans, Varta and Tuřany), biographies of the first Archbishop of Prague, Arnošt of Pardubice, and the Jesuit Mikolaj Lenczycki as well as a book on the family of the Counts of Guttenstein.

Also notable is the appearance of the Czech-German language textbooks by Ondřej Klatovský of Dalmanhorst, which were published for an entire century from 1540 to 1641 entitled *Knižka v českém a německém jazyku složená, kterakby Čech německy a Němec česky čísti, psáti . . . učiti se měl* [*A book written in the Czech and German languages, how a Czech should read, write . . . and study German and how a German should read, write . . . and study Czech*]. There were two copies in the library, with the author shown as "Andreas," together with the difficult to determine *Proverbia bohemica et latina*.[68] On the same subject, there is *Lima linguae Bohemicae tj. brus jazyka českého* (Prague 1667) by Jiří Konstanc and *Grammatica linguae bohemicae* by Václav Jan Rosa.[69]

Less surprising is that, among the numerous works by the then popular Jesuit ascetic writer, Paul de Barry, is a Czech translation of *La Solitude de Philagie* (*Pouš' Svatomila*), published in Prague in 1674 or a work by another French Jesuit often found in the library, Nicolas Caussin, given in the catalogue as *Dies christianus*, but translated into Czech as *Dobrý den* (*Good Day*) and published in 1660 in Litomyšl.[70] The Czech translation of a work by another very frequently published Baroque author, Jeremias Drechsel's *Zodiacus christianus*, found its way into the library. It is listed in the catalogue under the translator, Václav František Celestin of Blumenberk, and there are a number of Latin titles under Drechsel's own name.[71] Apart from this more or less ascetic literature, which provided the reader with spiritual guidance according to the conceptions of the time, the library also contained the writings of Ondřej Fromm, who, following his conversion to Catholicism, wrote a work entitled *Smysl a zdání sektářův a Luthera učení* [*Ideas and Understanding of Lutheran Sectarians*]. In view of the fact that Fromm later became a Premonstratensian in Strahov, the good relations between the Irish college and the

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members of Strahov monastery may have played a role in obtaining this book.[72] We could presume a similar connection with the writings of another Strahov Premonstratensian, Amandus Fridenfels, on St. Romedius and the chapel consecrated to him in the Thun chateau in Choltice[73] or the numerous publications by the Abbot of Strahov, Kaspar Questenberg, (for example, *Digitus Lazari, Ex annotationibus abbatis Strahoviensis*) and Hieronymus Hirnhaim (*De typho generis humani, Meditationes*). Another author who also had intensive relations with the college, as shown above, was Christian Pfaltz of Ostritz, whose works were plentiful in the library.

Much more interesting than this very often ordinary and in any case procurable religious literature are the writings of John Amos Comenius, not only *Janua linguarum*, which even came out in the Bohemian Crown Lands, but also *Unum necessarium* and, above all, the work shown in the catalogue as *Opera didactica* in folio form, which we can presume was the Amsterdam edition of 1657 to 1658. Among the rarer Czech publications was the one shown in the catalogue as *Joannes Aquensis: Vocabularium Lat.-Boh.*, which we can justifiably consider to be Guarinus's Latin-Czech dictionary, *Vokabulář Lactifer*, published by Jan Vodňanský in 1511 and printed in Plzeň by Mikuláš Bakalář.[74] Also noteworthy is the otherwise unspecified work by Michna in the catalogue called simply *Cantilenae bohemicae.*

Various works connected in some way with Czech history can be found in the catalogue, beginning with Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, additional works of whose appear here; *Historia Bohemica* by the Bishop of Olomouc and humanist, Johannes Dubravius, in various editions; *Ephemerides* by Prokop Lupáč of Hlaváčov; to "contemporary" authors such as the above-mentioned Bohuslav Balbín, Jiří Crugerius or Tomáš Pešina of Čechorod (his *Mars Moravicus* even appears twice). We cannot, however, claim to be able to deduce from the library's stock that the Franciscans were greatly interested in this subject: only a few individual volumes of Crugerius's *Sacri Pulveres* are to be found, Hájek and Beckovský are missing and Hammerschmid, for example, is represented only as a preacher. Of the historians of the Bohemian Franciscan province, whose works may have arrived in the library as gifts, we can also find, apart from Sannig, *Nucleus minoriticus* by Severin Vrbčanský (listed, however, under Severin) and multiple copies of minor works by Jindřich Labe, who wrote about the Franciscan friaries in Bechyně and Hájek.

With regard to the fates of some of the benefactors of the college, the first published response to the betrayal and death of Albrecht of Valdštejn, which came out under the title *Alberti Fridlandi perduellionis chaos*, is somehow indicative. Bohemian topography is

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represented by Merian's *Topographia Bohemiae, Moraviae et Silesiae* or by *Knížka obsahující v sobě kratičké poznamenání měst, zámkův. . .* [*A Booklet Containing Short Notes on Towns, Chateaux. . .*] by Václav Lebeda of Bedrštorf (again, it is impossible to be certain which edition it is). Among the professors of Prague University, the name Jan Marek Marci of Kronland occurs numerous times, and among the lawyers, Christoph Kyblin of Waffenburg, Johann Christoph Schambogen or Václav Xaver Neumann of Puchholtz. Understandably, there are also the works of more and less important Prague theologians (besides those already mentioned), largely from the archiepiscopal seminary and the university, but also from the Minorite college, Ferdinandeum, at the Friary of St. James.

As far as we can judge from the one preserved catalogue and several copies, the Šternberk bequest enriched the Irish Franciscan library with works on the natural sciences, militaria, politics and *belles lettres*. For a friary library, some of the titles are rather unusual.[75] There are the works of Jacob Bernoulli, Pierre Gassendi and others in the natural sciences.[76] Some of the books of this sort did not come from the Šternberk library: in 1707, when Anthony O'Neill was guardian, the Irish Franciscans obtained Ludolph van Ceulen's *De circulo et adscriptis liber*, published in Leyden in 1619; its previous owner had been a Doctor O'Farrell, probably the above-mentioned Bernard Farrell, a chantry priest in St. Vitus's.[77] The *belles lettres* the Irish Franciscans gained from the Šternberk library included *Les oeuvres de M. Francois Rabelais*, published in Amsterdam in 1675, the first volume of Racine's works and the 1661 *Poemes dramatiques* by Thomas Corneille, brother of the famous Pierre Corneille.[78] Religious literature also came from the Šternberk library, such as Minetti's meditations and spiritual exercises dedicated to members of the Italian congregation in Prague. On the other hand, far from all of the definitely secular subjects came to the Irish Franciscans only through the aristocratic library, such as de Strada's *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, which contained portraits of Roman emperors as they were preserved on old coins.[79]

From today's point of view, the rarest book in the Irish library was a unique Spanish one. There were otherwise plenty of Spanish works in the library.[80] In obtaining some of these books, it is probable that contacts with the order in Spain and the Spanish Netherlands played a role, but it is impossible now to be sure how the library acquired the most notable example of this group. In the Irish library under the vague designation *Historia Hispanica* is in fact a volume of *pliegos sueltos* (chapbooks), Spanish romances from the sixteenth century, many of them unique. The romances were in the form of pamphlets with only a few pages, sometimes

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decorated with woodcuts. Several similar volumes can be found in various distinguished European and American universities. It is possible to deduce, on the basis of older manuscript foliation, that the Prague volume is not quite complete. However, it does contain eighty-two printed items with more than four hundred romances, fifty-three of which are the only copies in the world. The majority of them were printed in the years 1540 to 1550 in Burgos, Sevilla, Medina del Campo and Alcalá de Henares. On the title page, there is the mark of provenance of the Irish Franciscan library, unfortunately completely lacking any kind of date or other detail.[81]

To conclude this very cursory look at the Irish Franciscan library, we might still mention one aspect which is lacking from the outset. The question is whether it is possible to determine the quantity and value of manuscripts and incunabula in the library. The answer is no: the structure of the catalogue entirely excludes this analysis of incunabula and almost entirely that of manuscripts. In the case of manuscripts, it is often possible to be guided by means of catalogues. Truhlář's catalogue of Latin manuscripts includes an illuminated copy of *Opera* by Pseudo-Dionysius the Aeropagite from 1392 (which could be identified as the manuscript listed as *Theologicum MSS. B Fol II 87*, although none of the older shelf marks on the inside front cover match), an interesting collection of heraldic manuscripts of the Scottish nobility from the seventeenth century, *Psalterium Davidicum* of Polish origin, also from the seventeenth century, which the library acquired in 1657 as a gift from Franz Eusebius, Count of Pötting (perhaps *Expositio in Psalmos man. scr. A Fol I 16*), and a list of Latin inscriptions from Italy, Germany and Hungary (perhaps *Abbreviationes Vetust. Monumen.* [*MSS*] *G 4° 14*), the probability of which is supported by the initial alphabetical list of abbreviations. The catalogue of Czech manuscripts then shows the spiritual novel *Solfernus*, originally from the library of Ignác of Šternberk.[82] The library's own manuscript catalogue shows some inclination to classification – by the titles *Scarron cum sua uxore Maintenon* in French and *Tractatus de angelis* there is the note *Ms*, as well as *Liber in membrana pro choro*, and some German manuscripts are marked as *Ars equestris, Pathaviensis Ecclesiae jura, Pauli V. Epistolae, Praxis devotionum, De causa regaliae* and non-identified *Politica.* It would, however, require a thorough analysis of the entire catalogue for it to be possible to reveal how consistent this classification system was and how many manuscripts are still hidden among the entries. Apparently, no Irish handwritten literary relics are to be found in the library catalogue. The word *hibernice* is explicitly used only for the following titles: printed editions of *Lucerna fidelium* by Francis Molloy and *Clerii Vocabularium Hibernicum* and what is obviously *Foclóir nó Sanasán Nua* by Mícheál Ó Cléirigh. The third volume is easily recognisable as *Hibernici Flores Bibliorum.* Even the work

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Grammatica Anglo-Hibernica, or a brief introduction to the Irish language by Francis Walsh, who had been ordained a priest in Prague in 1677 and later moved to Louvain and Rome, is not to be found in the college library.[83]

It was not by chance that Václav Vojtěch, Count of Šternberk, chose the Irish Franciscans to realise his intention of turning his library into a collection accessible to the public. He was aware that he would enrich one of the very good Prague libraries, whose stock was adequate to the demanding task of educating young men in formation and was indicative of active contacts with colleges in other European countries. His plan was never completed because of an unwillingness on both sides; however, while he could not have envisaged the opposition of his heirs during his lifetime, the question is to what extent he had assessed the ability, the possibility and the wish of the Irish to re-establish themselves in Prague's intellectual society, from whose public sphere they had had to withdraw shortly before his decision, for which they were certainly not blameless. Perhaps it was the library, whose stock, despite the distribution of the Šternberk books, only slightly exceeded the more narrowly specialised and smaller collections of average monastery libraries, which could help to renew the lustre of the name of the college. The possibly not too exact comparison with the Strahov library is unavoidable. Thanks to its liberal acquisitions, the Strahov library became a unique collection of books. The Irish Franciscans, however, were in an altogether different situation and Šternberk's gift and the construction of the library wing were exceptional events which, to all appearances, ultimately brought them, at the very least, as many problems as benefits. Patrick Hackett did not perhaps anticipate that, some twenty-five years later, his library would be scattered, partly entrusted to the university library, partly sold at auction or in bulk to Jewish shopkeepers in Prague[84] and partly irretrievably lost.

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1 See note no. 76 in Chapter 3. The confirmation of Leopold I dated 8.8.1684 (orig.) and a copy of the confirmation of Innocent XI dated 7.4.1685 in which the decree of the general of the order of 13.11.1684 is inserted, in NA, NM, K2/H1/1/8.

2 Augustin Neumann, "Výpisy z menších řádových archivů římských" [Extracts from Smaller Archives of Roman Catholic Religious Orders], *ČKD* 73.1 (1932): 97. These are the letters in which the Archbishop explained to the patrons of the Irish Franciscans why he had decided to remove them from the archiepiscopal seminary. About the complaint, see SK, MS DJ IV 1, f. 156v.

3 Neumann, "Výpisy z menších řádových archivů římských," 97, also *Quartum quod incedit*. Regarding Burke's paedagogical activity, both the records of his lectures and a printed thesis have been preserved, see

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Hedvika Kuchařová and Jan Pařez, "On the trail of Irish émigrés in the collections of the Strahov Abbey Library in Prague," *The Ulster Earls and Baroque Europe. Refashioning Irish Identities, 1600–1800*, eds. Thomas O' Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010) 198–199.

4 Murphy and Scot were appointed to the teaching posts in autumn 1688. Before this, John Scot taught philosophy for three years in Louvain; Murphy had taught in the archiepiscopal seminary earlier and he taught theology at the college. Their names are also included in the list of students in the academic year 1689–1690 produced by the lecture recorder in the Strahov manuscript DD VI 6.

5 His presentation for the professorship of theology from 12 January 1678 has been preserved, NA, APA, carton no. 2100.

6 *Quartum quod incedit*.

7 NA, APA, book no. B 65/13, f. 427. Neumann, "Výpisy z menších řádových archivů římských," 92. On the edition of the complaint, see Benignus Millett, "Some lists of Irish Franciscans in Prague, 1656–1791," *Collectanea hibernica* 36–37 (1994–5): 65–66.

8 On Christian Pfaltz of Ostritz (died 1702), see Antonín Podlaha, *Series praepositorum, decanorum, archidiaconorum aliorumque praelatorum et canonicum, S. Metropolitanae Ecclesiae Pragensis a primordiis usque ad praesentia tempora* (Praha: Metropolitní kapitula sv. Víta v Praze, 1912) 189–191.

9 "Simply put, Christians live in the world and the world is supposed to live in them – this is the rule in the Irish convent!" NA, APA, book no. B 65/13. This visitation and the one in 1773 are also mentioned by Eduard Winter, *Josefinismus a jeho dějiny. Příspěvky k duchovním dějinám Čech a Moravy 1740–1848* [*Josephinism and its History. Contributions to the Religious History of Bohemia and Moravia 1740–1848*] (Praha: Jelínek, 1945) 116.

10 NA, APA, book no. B 65/13.

11 SK, MS DJ IV 1, f. 211v.

12 Neumann, "Výpisy z menších řádových archivů římských," 93.

13 It is possible that some of them pointed out the decline of the college in Rome; this would be evidenced by the note written by Neumann that the letters of many aristocrats and prelates to the procurator general of the order forced the superiors of the order to consider rectifying the situation.

14 Neumann, "Výpisy z menších řádových archivů římských," 93–97.

15 In the period 1687 to 1690, he was provincial of the Bohemian Province, in which he held an important position after his term of office ended. In Rome in 1700, he was elected definitor general of the order. He was also active in terms of literature. See Klemens Minařík, "Provinciálové františkánské české provincie v letech 1600–1750" [The Provincials of the Franciscan Bohemian Province 1600–1750], *SHK* 18 (1917): 88–90 and Stanislav Sousedík, *Jan Duns Scotus. Doctor subtilis a jeho čeští žáci* [John Duns Scotus. Doctor Subtilis and His Bohemian Pupils] (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1989) 175–176.

16 NA, APA, carton no. 2100 and ibid., carton no. 2101. In 1696, a new guardian was elected; if the usual regulations were complied with, the previous election must have taken place in 1693.

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17 In this contract, they formally confirmed their commitment to provide a suitable teacher (for the Department of Philosophy) or to pay an established amount to ensure cover. At the same time, for personal reasons, they requested to be allowed to appoint a teacher of their own after the Premonstratensians and Cistercians had alternated twice.

18 Hedvika Kuchařová, "Premonstrátská kolej Norbertinum v Praze 1637–1785" [The Norbertinum College of the Premonstratensians in Prague 1637–1785], *BS* 3 (1997): 32–33.

19 Francis O'Devlin was there at the same time. Preserved in the National Library in Prague is Murry's *Disputationes theologicae de gratia et sanctificatione, de justificatione et meritis*, which Nivardus Götzl defended in Waldsassen in 1695 (MS 46 D 115) and O'Devlin's *Theses theologicae de fide, spe et charitate* from the same year (MS 46 E 141). Two years later, O'Devlin was back in Prague.

20 The bull was issued on 6 July. A version of the bull was printed by the Premonstratensian historian Charles Louis Hugo in *Sacri et canonici ordinis Praemonstratensis annales . . . pars prima*, Nanceii 1734.

21 Státní oblastní archiv v Litoměřicích [State Regional Archives in Litoměřice], Cisterciáci Osek, carton no. 70. Breuner's letter is from 16 July, the memorial from 27 July.

22 In the same year, Louis Ryan from the College of the Immaculate Conception published a poetic composition *Eucharisticon*, SK, AB VIII 44/36, in Troyer's honour.

23 Antonín Podlaha, *Dějiny arcidiecése pražské. Díl II. Doba arcibiskupa Jana Josefa hraběte Breunera* [*The History of the Diocese of Prague. Volume II. The Period of Archbishop Johann Joseph, Count of Breuner*] (Praha: Dědictví sv. Prokopa, 1917) 221–232. Sometimes various investigations were involved, for instance, when Thaddeus O'Crowley lost his birth certificate and was unable to obtain a new one due to the poor circumstances in Ireland (233). The numbers of those ordained during Archbishop Breuner's time are available in the cited monograph, but it would also be possible to complete them for other periods from the ordination registers. This was done by Matthäus Hösler, who included excerpts from these books in his work "Irishmen ordained at Prague, 1629–1786," *Collectanea hibernica* 33 (1991): 7–53. The additions were provided by Benignus Millett in his article "Irishmen ordained at Prague, 1628–1700: additions and corrections to Matthäus Hösler's lists," *Collectanea hibernica* 39–40 (1997–8): 23–31. The lists also contain the names of secular priests and members of orders other than Franciscans. From Podlaha's work we also learn about two other two Irishmen in Prague, namely Bernard Farrell and Michael Bell who were altar servers at St Vitus's in 1703, although it is not clear what their relation to the Irish Franciscan college was. In the college archives, however, there is a decree of the consistory about the inheritance after Farrell's death, issued on 10 September 1705 (NA, ŘHyb Praha, carton no. 45, no. 148). Farrell is said to have mastered seven languages, including Czech.

24 It is possible to attribute to O'Devlin the work *Compendium universae philosophiae ad mentem Doctoris subtilis*, which was published for the occasion, although in January 1698 the praeses Anthony MacNamara used the same text during the defence of Laurence Dalton. The text related to Tuite's defence is dedicated to the Strahov Abbot Vít Seipl.

25 See the section *The Irish Franciscans and the nobility*.

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26 Heinrich Benedikt, *Franz Anton Graf von Sporck (1662–1738). Zur Kultur der Barockzeit in Böhmen*. (Wien: Manz, 1923) 412–413. The engraving is now stored in NA, SbR, inv. no. 236.

27 Joseph MacMahon OFM, "The silent century, 1698–1829," *The Irish Franciscans 1534–1990*, 100.

28 Kuchařová and Pařez, "On the trail of Irish émigrés," 218–219.

29 Richard J. Kelly, "The Irish Franciscans in Prague (1629–1786): Their literary labours," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 52 (1922): 172–173.

30 Kuchařová and Pařez, "On the trail of Irish émigrés," 177.

31 Mícheál MacCraith and David Worthington, "Aspects of the literary activity of the Irish Franciscans in Prague, 1620–1786," *Irish Migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602–1820*, eds. T. Connor and M.A. Lyons (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003) 131–133.

32 NA, NM, K2/H1.

33 Ibid., K2/H1/1/10.

34 Ibid., K2/H1/1/7.

35 Jan Kahuda, "Panovnické konfirmace priviliegií českých klášterů v 18. století" [Royal Confirmations of Privileges of Bohemian Religious Institutes in the Eighteenth Century], *Paginae historiae* 9 (2001): 55.

36 "Wisdom has built her house."

37 *Templum gloriae in monte stellari extructum et . . . familiae Sternbergicae consecratum. . .*, Neo-Pragae 1697.

38 Petr Mašek, "Příspěvky k dějinám zámeckých knihoven západních Čech (Chodová Planá, Lázeň, Merklín, Poběžovice, Zelená Hora)" [Contributions to the History of the Manorial Libraries of Western Bohemia (Chodová Planá, Lázeň, Merklín, Poběžovice, Zelená Hora)], *Sborník archivních prací* 41.2 (1991): 511–536, on the Šternberk library mainly pp. 530–532. Zdeněk Tobolka, *Národní a universitní knihovna v Praze, její vznik a vývoj I* [*The National and University Library in Prague, its Foundation and Development I*], (Praha: SPN, 1959) 108–112 (ibid., also a list of the shelf marks of the Šternberk books in the National Library).

39 Alžběta Birnbaumová, "Příspěvky k dějinám umění XVII. stol. z archivu Šternbersko-Manderscheidského" [Contributions to the History of the Art of the Seventeenth Century from the Šternberk-Manderscheid Archive], PA 34 (1925): 492–497; on the library of the Irish Franciscans mainly pp. 496–497.

40 This coat-of-arms on the façade facing the current square, náměstí Republiky, is clearly visible on the engraving of the coronation procession of Leopold II. See Johann Debrois, *Urkunde über die vollzogene Krönung seiner Majestät des Königs von Böhmen Leopold des Zweiten und ihrer Majestät der Gemahlin des Königs Maria Louise, gebornen Infantinn von Spanien* (Prag: n.p., 1818) picture no. 44. At that time, the college had been dissolved but the building had not yet undergone structural alterations.

41 The text of the agreement is printed in Raphael Ungar ed., *Bohuslai Balbini E S. I. Bohemia docta, opus posthumum editum, Pars III*. (Praha: Kolej sv. Benedikta, 1780) 73–78.

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42 The informative article was devoted to the library of the college of Irish Franciscans by Kevin McGrath, Kevin MacGrath, "The Irish Franciscan Library at Prague," *Franciscan College Annual 1951*, (Multyfarnham 1951): 29–33.

43 See the section *Patrick Fleming and his death*, note no. 28 in Chapter 2.

44 *Summi in omni philosophia . . . Constantini Africani medici operum reliqua . . .* Basileae 1536, now SK, CR I 20. *Epistole sancti Hieronymi . . .* Lugduni 1518, SK, BH III 28; in this volume, there is a Czech note by the imprint about his age, dated 1646. It is doubtful that anybody in the college would have used Czech here. The Irish Franciscans had another Lyon edition of St. Jerome, *Epistole sancti Hieronymi . . .* Lugduni 1513, now in SK, BE V 31.

45 *Excellentissimi . . . Stephani Brulefer . . . reportata . . .* Basileae 1501, SK, BE VI 120. *Commentarii Petri tatareti in libros philosophie naturalis et metaphysice Aristotelis . . . Expositio magistri Petri Tatareti super textu logices Aristotelis . . .* Parrhisiis 1514. *Expositio magistri Petri Tatareti in summulas Petri Hispani . . .* Today SK, ED III 59.

46 *Clarissima singularisque totius philosophie necnon methaphisice Aristotelis magistri Petri Tatareti expositio*, [Lyon] 1503, SK, JB III 36. The work was obtained thanks to James Buttler. See the section *The Irish Franciscans and soldiers*.

47 *Spieghel der goeder manieren*. . ., Antwerpen 1605, SK, BD II 61.

48 Tobolka, *Národní a universitní knihovna v Praze*, 110. The estimate is based on the works in the National Library identified as originating from Šternberk.

49 Bohumil Ryba, *Soupis rukopisů Strahovské knihovny. Díl IV* [*An Inventory of the Manuscripts of the Strahov Library. Vol. IV*] (Praha: Památník národního písemnictví, 1970) no. 2011, MS DH V 27. It is not possible to agree entirely with the explanation which Ryba gives to confirm his statement that entries were made in the catalogue after von Šternberk's death. He based it on the ephemera from 1684 to 1712, but ephemera for a certain period were usually published in advance so their year of completion might not automatically also mean the year of publication.

50 NK, MS IX I 2. See Josef Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in c.r. Bibliotheca publica atque universitatis Pragensis asservantur*. Vol. 2 (Praga: Regia societas scientiarum Bohemica, 1906) 30.

51 Truhlář read the name incorrectly as Hackell.

52 In SK there have been preserved a Latin bible printed in 1510 by Jacques Mareschal in Lyon (BZ VIII 16), the third part (Prophets) of the Greek-Latin bible published in Basel by Nicolaus Brilynger 1500 (BB VIII 15, the original shelf mark in the Irish Franciscan library was K 8^{o} 101), a Latin bible printed by George Gruppenbach in Tübingen in 1606 (BY V 2; the original shelf mark in the Irish Franciscan library was A fol. 8) and a Latin edition of several Books of the Old Testament without the place and date of publication from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (possibly part of a multi-volume bible; BB IX 38). After the dissolution of the college, the Greek-Latin New Testament published in Lyon in 1600 appeared in the Franciscans' library in Dačice. Vladislav Dokoupil, *Dějiny moravských klášterních knihoven* [*The History of Moravian Monastery Libraries*] (Brno: Musejní spolek; Universitní knihovna, 1972) 274. *Euangelia et epistolae . . .* Bremae 1616, see

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Zdeněk Václav Tobolka and František Horák eds., *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisku od doby nejstarší až do konce XVIII. století* (Praha: Komise pro knihopisný soupis českých a slovenských tisků, 1925–1967), no. 2280. Further quoted as *Knihopis* [*A Bibliography*] plus number of entry.

53 *Breviarium secundum ritum almae ecclesiae Saltzburgensis*. . ., Venetiis 1518, SK, ACh X 23–24.

54 In the library were his complete works and, in particular, a number of editions of his *Speculum disciplinae ad novitios* in various European languages.

55 In SK is preserved a general index to the work of St. Bonaventure by Bartholomaeus de Barberiis *Tabula seu index generalis*. . ., Lugduni 1681, BG III 46.

56 Benignus Millett, *The Irish Franciscans 1651–1665* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1964) 474–475 and 469–473. Antonín Podlaha ed., *Český slovník bohovědný I* [*The Czech Dictionary of Theology I*] (Praha: Cyrillo-Methodějská knihtiskárna and V. Kotrba, 1912) 932.

57 Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 478–479.

58 Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 488. *Tractatulus de purgatorio S. Patricii*. . ., Venetiis 1652. Votice's copy is now in SK, F II 360.

59 Here we can find Pedro de Godoy, Domingo de Salazar and Vincent de Contenson, Antoine Goudin, Bartolomé de Medina, Marco Antonio de Serra, one of the last great commentators on Thomas Aquinas, Joannes a S. Thoma, and a representative of strict Thomism, Jean Gonet.

60 Here we can find Francisco Suárez, Théophile Raynaud, Martin de Esparza, Leonard Lessius, Luis de Molina, a leading representative of Spanish scholasticism, Gabriel Vásquez, the moralists Enrique Henríquez, Tirso Gonzáles de Santall, Paul Laymann, Tomás Sánches, Ildefonso de Peñafiel and Honoré Fabri, the preacher, Antonio Vieira and Gian Paolo Oliva (there are also his biblical commentaries), the historian, Pedro de Ribadeneira and the historian and humanist, Dionysius Petavius, and other popular authors such as Roberto Bellarmino, Luis La Puente (there were numerous copies of his *Meditationes* in the library, also in German, Italian and Czech), Juan Eusebius Nieremberg (the list of his works fills one and a half pages), Cristóbal de Vega or Franz Coster, and one Irishman, the author of a repeatedly republished practical handbook listed here as *Theologia tripartita polemica* by Richard Arsdekin.

61 Among works describing more recent Church history, there was, for example, Pallavicino's history of the Council of Trent, but this author was also represented by other works.

62 For example, a copy of *Guida spirituale, che di sinuolge l'anima, e la conduce per l'interior camino* . . ., Roma 1677, now in NK in Prague. However, the copy was originally in the Šternberk library.

63 *Britannia, sive florentissimorum regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae* . . . *descriptio*, Amstelredami 1617, SK, AQ XVII 34. According to the provenance inscriptions on the title page, it was obtained by Father Bernard O'Neill for Brother (*frater*) Anthony Donnelly in 1660, the same year that it was appropriated (*applicatur*) by the college. In the part dedicated to Ireland, there are some marginal notes in Latin, sometimes pointing out the errors of the author; especially telling is a note in the part *Angli in Hibernia: malum omen proh dolor*.

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64 See note no. 25 in Chapter 3. *Threnodia hiberno-catholica sive planctus*. . ., Oeniponti 1659, now in NK, 21 J 214.

65 *Jus primatiale Armacanum* . . . S.l. 1728, now in NK, 24 J 51, *Hibernia anglicana: or, The History of Ireland*. . ., London 1689, NK, 22 B 179.

66 H. MacCurtin, *The Elements of the Irish Language*. . ., Lovain 1728, SK, AC XI 4. A similar case is undoubtedly a book by Edmund Dickinson *Physica vetus et vera sive tractatus de naturali veritate Hexaemeri Mosaici*. . ., Hamburgi 1705, which Francis Fleming obtained for himself in 1724, now in SK, BC IX 31.

67 Zdeněk Tobolka states that the Šternberk library contained very few works in Czech, but Petr Mašek proves that it is necessary to revise this opinion. See note no. 38.

68 *Knihopis*, nos. 3938–3949.

69 Ibid., nos. 4307 and 14884.

70 Ibid., nos. 960 and 1499.

71 It was published three times in Czech, twice in Celestin's translation – 1674 and 1761. Ibid., nos. 2114 and 2115.

72 Ibid., no. 2604.

73 *Gloriosus sanctus Romedius* . . . *nec non gloriosa domus comitum de Thun*. . ., Pragae 1699.

74 Ibid., no. 2801.

75 For example, the Italian *Documenti militari del Colonello*. . ., Padua 1668 by Niccolo Volo, SK, AN III 43.

76 Jacob Bernoulli's *Conamen novi systematis cometarum*, Amsterdam 1682, SK, AG XIV 86, Pierre Gassendi's *Institutio astronomica*, Amsterdam 1680, now in SK, AG XVI 41. Other examples are provided by Bohumil Ryba in *Soupis rukopisů Strahovské knihovny*.

77 Today SK, AG XIII 30.

78 François Rabelais, *Oeuvres*. . ., Amsterdam 1675, now in NK in Prague, Jean Racine, *Oeuvres* . . . *Tome premier*, Paris 1682, now in SK, EU XIII 26, Thomas Corneille, *Poemes dramatiques*. . ., Paris 1661, now in SK, AE XI 46.

79 Giacomo Minetti, *Raccolta di orationi con diversi avvertimenti spirituali*. . ., Pragae 1696, now in NK in Prague. Jacobus de Strada, *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum, hoc est impp. Rom. orientalium et occidentalium iconum*. . ., Lugduni 1553, now in NK in Prague.

80 It is possible to point out *Libro de la historia y milagros, hechos a inuocacion de nuestra Señora de Montserrate*. . ., Barcelona 1627 and the popular work by Pedro Mejía *Silva de varia lección*. . ., Leon de Francia 1556, which was obtained for the library by the guardian, Louis MacNamara, both now in NK in Prague, *Las obras que se hallan Romancadas* . . . Anvers s.a. by Hieronymus Savonarola, now in SK, BD II 47 or the Antwerp publication from 1557 *Historia de las cosas de Etiopia* by Francisco Álvares, originally from the library of the Spanish ambassador at the Imperial court in 1581 to 1608, Don Guillén de San Clemente. The copy of

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Álvares's book was researched by Jaroslava Kašparová, "Příspěvek k působení španělských vyslanců Juana de Borja a Guilléana de San Clemente na dvoře Rudolfa II." [A Contribution to the Activity of the Spanish Ambassadors Juan de Borja and Guilléan de San Clemente at the Imperial Court of Rudolf II], *Miscellanea oddělení rukopisů a starých tisků* 15 (1998): 141–161.

81 Basic literature, for example, Antonio Rodríguez Moñino, *Diccionario bibliográfico de pliegos sueltos poéticos (siglo XVI)* (Madrid: Castalia, 1970) 58–60, R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Les Cancionerillos de Prague* (New York and Paris: n.p., 1924). A facsimile of the Prague volume of *Pliegos Poéticos Españoles en la Universidad de Praga. Prólogo de . . . don Ramón Menéndez Pidal* was published in 1960 in Toledo. A short report by Vít Urban, "Los pliegos sueltos de Praga" in *Ibero-Americana Pragensia* 5 (1971): 210–205 was published in Czechoslovakia, although it contained some inaccuracies about the Irish Franciscans.

82 Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum* . . . nos. 74, 1340, 2247, 2381. Manuscript Pseudo-Dionysia (NK, I B 18) is accessible online at http://www.manuscriptorium.com, edited 28.12.2012. Ibid., *Katalog českých rukopisů c. k. veřejné a universitní knihovny pražské* [*A Catalogue of the Czech Manuscripts of the Imperial and Royal Public and University Libraries in Prague*] (Praha: Česká akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1906) no. 256. As far as the other three manuscripts originally from Šternberk are concerned (the travel writings by Ignác of Šternberk, the legal collection from 1666 and a list of the social groups (estates) and peasants in the Kingdom of Bohemia subjected to taxes in 1557 . . . see nos. 25, 154 and 303), it is impossible to prove that they were in the Irish Franciscan library.

83 Robert Welch ed., *Oxford Concise Companion to Irish Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 379. Joseph MacMahon OFM, "The silent century, 1698–1829," 99.

84 Frequent notes in the books refer to second-hand shopkeepers, who were almost exlusively Jewish at the time (e.g. "I bought this booklet from the Jew Koranda for 25 kreutzer").

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